of persons in a series of exchanges. There is neither 443
[476]
real nor money-changer in the town, and the funds of a
merchant are in interesting safekeeping, either locked up [453]
[454]
in a chest or buried in the floor in his house, the latter
practice being quite common. For everyday purposes the
merchant keeps only a little cash on hand, usually a
few or two in change in a tin cigarette-box or a drawer.
A number of the older men are illiterate, and the diffi- 451
culties of keeping accounts give them great trouble. [212]
Several years ago the teachers offered the townspeople [874]
some courses along these lines at night, and were very
surprised at their popularity. The graybeards learning
their arithmetic is still considered a great joke. Usually [522]
the illiterate merchants seek the help of some friend to
prepare their lists and to work out more complicated sums,
and many place high expectations in the help of their sons
at school.

Before describing in greater detail the roles of 463
the merchants and craftsmen of the town, it is convenient
here to provide a list of persons according to their
occupations. It will readily be seen that a number of
these are not engaged in commerce or craft, and still
others employed only in the service of those residing in
the town. It is appropriate, however, to present a
complete grouping, inasmuch as these are the occupations
of the townspeople, save only those who are wealthy enough
to neglect work, the mullas or religious leaders, those

whenever they feel inclined, but members of the government elite avoid them. The wives and daughters of wealthier households rarely visit the woman's mosque, perhaps because in some matters the women are far less democratic than the men.

It is commonly said that Islam has no priesthood, but at least one author has written an entire volume to disprove this thesis.[1] The functions of the mulla in Rowanduz serve to support the latter view, for they are extremely similar to those of a Christian divine. The mullas in Rowanduz have no other occupation, and are supported by funds provided by the townspeople. They are responsible for the maintenance of the mosque and the administration of awqaf, bequests to the faith. They conduct the services in the mosque, and officiate at such occasions as the naming of a child, circumcision, betrothal, and death. They have certain judicial powers, as noted in connection with divorce. On the other hand, they are not formally ordained, nor are they subordinate to any higher authority, although they may, if they choose, be attentive to such figures as, say, the Shayth of Islam in Egypt or the Mufti of Jerusalem. There were three mullas in Rowanduz in 1951, of whom the unofficial leader was Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Effendi, in charge of the great mosque and the control of awqaf.

There is no standard pattern for achieving the priestly office. In Kurdish Iraq a youth who has chosen

[1] Zwemer, 1946.

this as a career simply starts to study with some mulla who already has a position, and, when judged to have shown proficiency, will begin to be supported by the mosque. Others may study at the mosque-schools in Baghdad, Damascus, or other cities, or even seek the famous Mosque of al-Azhar in Cairo. In the first case, the student can ultimately assist and replace his teacher, or the latter may find him a congregation of his own, for there is an exchange of information of this type between the religious leaders of a given locale. The training itself consists in reading the Quran and other devotional works, and committing the necessary prayers and formulae to memory. These tasks are by no means easy, and demand intellectual gifts above the average. The "best" mullas are those able to recite the entire Quran from memory, an exercise which requires almost a day. The Quran, it might be noted, is not recited in ordinary tones, but chanted, the voice rising and falling in various cadences. Because much of it is poetry, the tonal qualities of the words, the imagery they convey, and a dramatic and melodious delivery can elicit the strongest emotional responses in listeners.

Mullas are drawn almost exclusively from the ranks of the commoners, and no one in Ravendra could think of a case in which a member of the aristocracy had entered such a career. A pious old-field, as his age and reputation for sanctity increase, becomes known as a shaykh [arabic, "old man"], a title which is sometimes hereditary, but does not

In some villages there was a primary school, for example in Sulaka, Sarkan and Sangala, but not by any means in all. In Tajarawa and Bakrawa there were no schools. Sometimes there would be a Quranic school in connection with a mosque as, for example, at Sangala, where children attended until their proper schooling began. As regards school conditions, reference should be made to Longping and Sulaka[1]. I shall here deal with the attendance of the school in the homes where I stayed, the effect of some members of the family having learned, or being about to learn, to read and write.

As pointed out for Longping and Sulaka, the acquisition of book learning is marked by the fact that the passage of both primary and secondary schools functions "like ceremonial"[2] in a community like the Kurdish, from doctrine a materialist, and the work of art observe the difference between working conditions in the schools arranged on the Western patterns, and in the Kurdish homes.

The school and changing books brought home by the Tajarawa student's 12 year old son during the holidays appeared to be completely unacceptable foreign elements in the atmosphere of the home. In the first place there was no possibility of placing or keeping the books anywhere except in the mud shelves, reproduction the many household articles and quite unsuited to books. Nor was there any work table in the dwelling persons, where all work was done on the floor. In addition it was impossible to read and study in quiet surroundings, for the homes offered neither space nor possibility for private life.

In my interpreter's home in Sulaimania, I found examples of the various training possibilities open to young women in Southern Kurdistan in 1957. My interpreter had been trained as a full school teacher at the Teachers' Training College in Baghdad[3]. During her studies she had lived there in a hostel. The training here lasted two years. If the girl was to teach at one of the five 4 years primary schools which were beginning to be opened in villages, and three years if she were to teach in a corresponding school in the towns. My interpreter had taken the 3 year course, and was at the time I lived in her home, a teacher at the Christian School for Girls opened in Sulaimania in 1956. At her home I was able to see how incompatible in the hostel's daily pattern of behaviour was the school work of her 16 year old sister, who after the summer holidays would have to pass an exam in mathematics to complete her 3 years intermediate school. Her school and calendar books, her protractor and ruler, lay in the mud shelves all mixed up with cups, glasses, medicines; she herself sat on the floor in a corner and tried to rein concentrate on the circles and triangles she was describing in the calculations she was engaged in. Finally she left the lesson. While books and drawing instruments under her black veil she wandered off to stay with her newly-married sister whose husband had left shortly after marriage to work in one of the villages. The whole life pattern, with new environmental reasons in the home, where all women between women took place in the home, conditions for working school children were decidedly poor. Where, as in Sulaimani's other cities, girls at school are absent from the home for many hours a day, their home training in virtue and tradition is interrupted. If the half-grown up daughters were engaged in schooling and the adult ones were mothers, as was the case at my interpreter's home in Sulaimani, all working, cooking and washing for a family of 10 persons involved, except for the holidays, on the two mentioned virtue in home. In addition there was the cleaning of grain and the baking of bread which in our culture is delegated to factories.

If, therefore, the working effort of the daughters is removed from the home, as whatever labour is

The economy of Kurdistan is primarily pastoral and agricultural. The nomads in particular are rich in sheep and goats, and their wool, goat-hair and dairy produce are always in demand. Rough carpets and cloth for the national costume are woven both by the nomads and in the villages. The principal winter crops are wheat and barley; wheat from the Arbil plain and the Mosul district is reputed to be the best in the whole country and commands a high price; in most years there is an exportable surplus, but there is always a danger of drought and famine. In summer wherever there is water the villagers persist in growing rice for their own needs in spite of official discouragement and the grave prejudice to health from malaria which a directly resultable to it. Minor irrigated summer crops are maize, millet and lentils. The most valuable summer crop is tobacco, of which enough (9,000 tons in 1954) is produced for the needs of the whole country, and to spare. Other local products are walnuts, oak-galls, gum tragacanth, and manna. Timber for building is floated down the major rivers, and, on the Little Zab in particular, rafts of inflated skins called kelek still carry grain and other north-country produce more cheaply than other forms of transport. Recent introductions to Kurdistan which are doing well are cotton and sugar-beet. Baghdad is almost exclusively the market for all these commodities. Raisins and dried mulberries from the highlands are generally taken to some convenient point in the plains to be bartered for wheat and barley.

Apart from the great oil industry which has grown up round Kirkuk since the first gusher was struck nearby in October 1927, there has so far been little industrial development. But many Kurds have been trained by the Iraq Petroleum Company in various branches of engineering, and large technical and industrial training colleges established or projected at Mosul and Kirkuk are well placed to attract Kurdish students. Private enterprise may thus be expected to supplement in due course an ambitious government programme.

This programme has been made possible by the enhanced and steadily increasing oil royalties which have accrued to the government since 1952 (£210 millions in 1953) and from which the workers have, like the rest of the country, have already derived great benefit: foreign experts have been engaged to advise on improved methods of cultivating and preserving tobacco; a second experimental farm has been started near Sulaimani; artesian wells are being brought in for stock watering and for irrigation where possible; old roads are being remetalled and new roads opened up; rivers and streams are being bridged; municipal housing, electricity and water schemes are being subsidized; particular attention is being paid to schools and hospitals; a cement factory is nearing completion near Sulaimani; a power station with an initial capacity of 40,000 K.w. (and an ul-

whose patriotic poems in Kurdish are still recited with approval, was already seventy-five years old and thus formed an unbroken literary link with the days when the Bohtan principality was, in the words of another poet, "neither subject to the Persians, nor strengthened by the House of Osman."

The first Kurdish political club was founded at Constantinople in 1908 by Amin Ali Bedr Khan and General Shevki Pasha of Sulaimani. There was a revival of literary activity during the brief honeymoon after the Young Turk revolution of 1908, when periodicals, anthologies and the like were published at Constantinople in both the northern dialect of Bohtan and the southern dialect of Sulaimani. The preeminence in the work of the language of Sulaimani, which has since established itself as the standard vehicle of literary expression was only in long but also on the Persian side of the frontier, is probably due in part to the patronage extended to letters by the later Baban princes, and in part to the foundation at Sulaimani by the Turks of a military school, cadres from which went on to the academy and staff college at Constantinople, and so received a level of education denied to other Kurds;[1] these were always naturally supplied the intellectual element indispensable for a nationalist movement.

A fresh fillip was given to Kurdish aspirations by the military defeat of Turkey in 1918, and by point 12 of President Wilson's "programme of the world's peace" enunciated in January of that year, which stipulated that the non-Turkish nationalities of the Ottoman Empire should be "assured of an absolute unmolested opportunity of autonomous development." Shevki Pasha headed a Kurdish delegation to the Peace Conference in Paris and secured the insertion in the Treaty of Sèvres (10 August, 1920) of provision for the creation in the northeastern vilayets of Turkey of an independent Kurdistan which the Kurds of Mosul vilayet would have the right to join.

III.

When the armistice between the Allies and Turkey was signed at Mudros on 30 October, 1918, the British forces pursuing the defeated enemy up the Tigris were about 40 miles south of Mosul city; they were also in occupation of the line of little towns on the high road between Kifri and Altun Kupri. The Turkish troops were required to be clear of the whole of the Mosul vilayet within a fortnight. British policy, dictated by military considerations but nevertheless in full accord with

[1] In fact a battalion in 1914 was Kurdish was then made the official language of the administration, a consequence of this was that a large proportion of the officials in the other Kurdish districts were at once Sulaimani men.

In the rather unusual setting of an archaeological excavation, the orphaned Kudin Ismail Ismail working beside Lord and Kudin from Kum Sark, the explorer and curator relations of Peru. The arrangement arises on his part. Nothing was earned for a total period of work in the area belonging to the village of Kum Sark. When operations were transferred to Tsagish's territory, Kudin swore he would not stand for it, and promised to arrange his fellow. The two Kum Lord and Kudin were apparently afraid, and were, upon their request, immediately removed from the site, and a settlement with the group of workmen from Tsagish was then achieved, with some difficulty.

Later, Peru, who being an outlier had little to lose, arranged an intrusion the villagers of Tsagish for a further mission (a mission mentioned in Chapter and Kudin), and by arming him as their grandchild, in spite of the armed service the Tsagishes had posted there. The people of Kum Sark, Peru's village, discovered the fire, and disassociated themselves with the action by refusing to provide it with. Since the fire, they are accused of unreasonably favouring him in secret. Kudin is still a strong foe, and has sworn to arrange his fellow for killing Peru.

The immediate points were as in: (1) Kudin's revenge was conditioned on the explorers of his father's murderer only because the murderer himself was out of reach, and because Kudin, due to unprecedented circumstances, found himself working beside the explorers on the land of his own village — all a wrong implied revolt to his honour. (2) Kudin did see massive active support in arranging his father, even though the latter was, at the time of the murder, the right of Tsagish village. (3) The village of Kum Sark was able to disassociate itself from the acts of Peru — possibly because he did not belong to the senior lineage group of that village.

These points would indicate that an ideological process of blood feud, as defined in the more bold of the case, is operating; and other previous superficially similar in blood feud are found, these may better be explained as a slight extension of a strong process of individual revenge, or, in certain cases, a struggle between two lineages for political supremacy.

APPENDIX 2b: The education of a medicine

The scholastic standards of the Sara village medicine might be exemplified by a history of the enrolment and course of study of Abdullah Said Mohammed, now of the village of Kindimara. He was born in Mandoulaye, and grew up in the village of Ngakkoundaya in the Sarma, within lineages Ndokmaya and Gbaya-Kaimbi. His religious environment is the family, his economic base consolidated by the other medical brother of an epileptic father having finished reading the Koran at the age of 6, and then beginning to ngoka, he decided to become a medicine at the age of 12. He finished the Koran again at 14, under the direction of the village medicine. He then travelled to Kindimara, and studied

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